

Message Text

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ACTION IO-10

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-06 EUR-12 NEA-09 OIC-02

AGR-05 CEA-01 CIAE-00 COME-00 DODE-00 EB-07 FRB-03

H-02 INR-07 INT-05 L-02 LAB-04 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

AID-05 CIEP-01 SS-15 STR-04 TAR-01 TRSE-00 USIA-06

PRS-01 SP-02 FEAE-00 OMB-01 /130 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 9846

INFO USUN NEW YORK 0255

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L KHARTOUM 1158

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PORG, EGEN, UN, UNGA

SUBJ: UNGA SPECIAL SESSION

REF: STATE 075525

BEGIN SUMMARY. US TACTICS RE FORTHCOMING SPECIAL UNGA
MIGHT WELL FOCUS ON COLLECTIVE LDC INTEREST IN PRESERVATION
VIALE ORGANIZATION RATHER THAN ON INITIATING ADVANCE
CONSULTATION ON SPECIFIC ISSUES. END SUMMARY.

1. ON AND OFF SINCE RECEIPT REFTTEL, MY COLLEAGUES AND I
HAVE BEEN CONSIDERING ITS SENSIBLE REQUEST FOR COMMENTS
AS TO WHAT IS LIKELY TO HELP US TARGET MOST EFFECTIVELY OUR
FUTURE EFFORTS WITH LDC'S WITH RESPECT COMING SPECIAL UNGA.
WHILE ISSUES DO EXIST ON WHICH LDC'S OBJECTIVELY APPEAR
TO HAVE DIFFERENT INTERESTS, WE CONCLUDE THAT
EARLY OR SPECIAL EFFORTS EXPLOIT THESE IN ADVANCE SESSION
MAY BE LOOKING DOWN WRONG END OF GUN FOR SEVERAL REASONS:

A. LDC'S PAR EXCELLENCE ARE BELIEVERS IN OLD ADAGE THAT
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THERE IS SAFETY IN NUMBERS. AL LONG AS MAJORITY OR MOST

INFLUENTIAL AMONG THEM ESPOUSE CERTAIN VIEWS, REST, SUCH AS SUDAN, ARE LIKELY TO TAG ALONG IN NAME OF LDC SOLIDARITY (MAY BE WORTH NOTING IN THIS CONNECTION THAT EVEN DIRT-POOR SUDAN BROKE RELATIONS WITH US IN 1967 TO KEEP IN STEP WITH OTHER ARABS DESPITE LOSS OF THEN SIGNIFICANT ECONOMIC AID WHICH ACTION ENTAILED.).

B. ATTEMPTS AT REASONED CONSULTATIONS WITH LDC'S ON ISSUES ARE LIKELY TO FOUNDER ON ROCK OF LDC CONCERN LEST A GIVEN STAND, HOWEVER MUCH IT MAY LOGICALLY BE IN LDC'S OWN INTEREST, WILL BE INTERPRETED BY PEERS PRIMARILY AS "SUPPORT"

FOR US". NO DOUBT SOME LDC'S (E.G. IN LATIN AMERICA) PREPARED LIVE WITH THIS SITUATION, BUT MOST THIRD WORLD STATES PROBABLY ARE NOT.

C. LDC'S DO NOT INVARIABLY ACT IN ACCORDANCE THEORETICAL PERCEPTIONS THEIR OWN BEST INTERESTS--ANY MORE THAN DO WE.

D. THOUGH KNOWLEDGEABLE OFFICIALS IN MANY LDC'S MAY WELL AGREE WITH REASONED ARGUMENTS BASED ON MERITS EXISTENCE SMALL AND LOW-RANKING UN AFFAIRS STAFFS IN MOST LDC FOREIGN MINISTRIES RESULTS IN LDC REPS AT UN GENERALLY BEING UNINSTRUCTED OTHER THAN TO COORDINATE WITH AFRICAN (OR ARAB) GROUP. SUCH GENERALIZED GUIDANCE PLAYS INTO HANDS THOSE LDC REPS WHO MAY BE MORE CONCERNED TO ADVANCE THEIR OWN UN CAREERS THAN TO STAND UP FOR PARTICULAR POSITIONS OF THEIR GOVERNMENTS. I RECALL THAT MAURITIAN PERMREP ABSENTED HIMSELF FROM GENERAL DEBATE SEVERAL YEARS AGO WHEN HIS PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH NOT SUFFICIENTLY HARD ON SOUTH AFRICA FOR AFRICAN GROUP. HE LATER ELECTED CHAIRMAN, POLITICAL COMMITTEE.

2. IN CIRCUMSTANCES, WE WONDER WHETHER MOST USEFUL USG POSTURE MAY NOT BE ONE OF WHAT MILITARY TERM "INDIRECT FIRE". BY THIS WE MEAN AVOIDANCE INITIATIVES WITH LDC'S ON SPECIFIC ISSUES PRIOR SPECIAL UNGA BUT RATHER FOCUSING ON DC'S AND REALPOLITIK CONSIDERATIONS OF IMPORTANCE TO USG. POINT WOULD BE TO ENDEAVOR GET MESSAGE ACROSS TO LDC'S THAT WE HAVE BROKEN WITH OLD WAYS AND ARE SERIOUS THAT POLICY OF CONFRONTATION POLITICS WILL IN FACT JEOPARDIZE US SUPPORT FOR UN AS ASSERTED LAST SENTENCE PARA SIX
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REFTEL. IN TMS CONNECTION, I RECALL A NONALIGNED PRIME MINISTER TELLING ME AT TIME OF ARTICLE 19 CONTROVERSY A DECADE AGO THAT CHIEF AIM OF SMALL STATES WAS TO PRESERVE UN, THAT IF THEY VOTED WITH US ON ISSUE THEY FEARED USSR MIGHT WITHDRAW BUT THAT IF THEY VOTED AGAINST US WE WOULD NOT.

3. FOREGOING IS NOT TO SUGGEST ANY SUCH SURGERY.

BUT LDC'S ARE LIKELY TO STICK TOGETHER ON MOST ISSUES,
IRRESPECTIVE OF MERITS, UNLESS THEY FIND SOME OTHER COURSE
CAN BE JUSTIFIED IN TERMS LDC COLLECTIVE INTEREST. AS IN
ENERGY CRISIS, IF A PARTICULAR LDC FEELS ITS INTERESTS
DAMAGED
H CENR YLECTIVE#LDC POSITION ON A SPECIFIC ISSUE,
THE STATE CONCERNED IS LIKELY TO CONTINUE TO SUPPORT IT IN THE UN
ANYWAY BUT THEN USE THE FACT OF SUCH CONSTANCY TO PRY
SPECIAL FINANCIAL SUPPORT OUT OF ITS WEALTHY LDC COLLEAGUES.

4. IF FOREGOING ANALYSIS IS CORRECT, WE SHOULD BE WORKING
NOT TO CONVINCE LDC'S OF THE SENSIBLE NATURE OF OUR VIEWS ON
PARTICULAR ISSUES BUT RATHER TO HAVE CLEAR IN OUR OWN MINDS
WHAT ACTIONS WE FEEL WE MUST TAKE SHOULD UN VOTES NO AGAINST
US, (E.G., IGNORING THE OUTCOME). PARADOXICALLY, SUCH LOW
PROFILE IN THE PRE-SESSION PERIOD SEEMS MORE LIKELY TO
ASSURE DEGREE OF MODERATION ON SPECIAL ISSUES, WHEREAS
PREMATURE USG EFFORTS TO INFLUENCE LDC OPINION COULD
WELL MAKE IT HARDER FOR SOME OF THEM TO HOLD TO POSITIONS
THEY MIGHT OTHERWISE LIKE TO TAKE ON THE MERITS.
BREWER

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